

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 150555  
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APPROVED BY P:DNEWSOM  
AF:WCHARROP  
S/P:ALAKE  
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AF:DKPETTERSON  
S/S:FGWISNER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

-STADIS FOR THE SECRETARY, MOOSE FROM NEWSOM, HARROP, LAKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, CG, SW

SUBJECT: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH ANGOLANS IN LUANDA

### 1. ISSUE FOR DECISION

THIS CABLE OUTLINES PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR DON MC HENRY TO USE IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ANGOLANS DURING THE CONTACT GROUP'S EXPECTED VISIT TO LUANDA. THE POINTS HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED OUTSIDE THE DEPARTMENT. IF YOU APPROVE THEM, WE WOULD CLEAR THEM WITH THE NSC STAFF.

### 2. ESSENTIAL FACTORS

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ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO HAS REQUESTED, THROUGH BOTH HIS U.N. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE AND NYERERE, THAT A U.S. OFFICIAL VISIT LUANDA. NETO SAYS HE IS INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING A RANGE OF ISSUES, INCLUDING NAMIBIA, ZAIRE, CUBA, AND U.S.-ANGOLAN RELATIONS. DON MC HENRY'S EXPECTED VISIT TO LUANDA WITH THE

CONTACT GROUP IN THE NEAR FUTURE WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE DISCUSSION WHICH NETO SEEKS.

3. THERE ARE TWO PRINCIPAL TOPICS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE IN OUR AFRICAN POLICY WHICH WE WOULD WANT MC HENRY TO DISCUSS WITH NETO: THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS, AND PEACE AND STABILITY BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE. TO UNDERLINE THEIR IMPORTANCE AND TO ENCOURAGE NETO TO BE FORTHCOMING, BOTH TOPICS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF IMPROVEMENT OF U.S.-ANGOLAN RELATIONS.

#### 4. NAMIBIA

IF THE NEW CONDITION INSISTED ON BY SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE -- RELOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SOUTH OF WINDHOEK -- IS FINALLY REJECTED BY SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLAN INFLUENCE WITH SWAPO WILL BE CRUCIAL. MC HENRY WILL NEED MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY TO PERSUADE THE ANGOLANS TO BRING SWAPO TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN PROPOSALS OR SOME NEW COMPROMISE. THE ANGOLANS ARE MOST LIKELY TO BE HELPFUL IF THEY CAN BE CONVINCED THAT THE WEST -- EVEN THOUGH IT CANNOT MAKE SOUTH AFRICA AGREE TO THE NEW TROOP LOCATIONS -- IS DETERMINED TO MOVE TOWARD A GENUINE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION. A KEY ELEMENT IN THIS ANGOLAN VIEW  
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WOULD BE THE PERCEPTION THAT THE U.S. WAS WILLING AT LEAST TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE ABOUT IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA.

#### 5. ZAIRE-ANGOLA

AT LAST WEEK'S PARIS MEETING THE FRENCH SAID THAT THEY RECOGNIZED THE NECESSITY FOR MEDIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, AND THAT CESSATION OF OUTSIDE SUPPORT FOR UNITA WAS A VITAL ELEMENT IN ANY SCENARIO TO NEUTRALIZE THE KATANGAN THREAT. (AT THE SAME TIME, RECENT INTELLIGENCE REPORTS INDICATE THAT FRANCE AND OTHERS ARE CURRENTLY STEPPING UP AID TO UNITA.) ALTHOUGH WE WILL WANT TO SEEK CONFIRMATION FROM GUIRINGAUD THAT THIS IN FACT DOES REPRESENT THE AUTHORITATIVE FRENCH VIEW, IT SERVES IN ANY CASE AS USEFUL BACKGROUND IN ANY DISCUSSION WITH NETO (IN GENERAL TERMS) CONCERNING REDUCTION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS ON THE SUBJECT -- MOST RECENTLY BETWEEN ANDY YOUNG AND PRIME MINISTER NASCIMENTO IN NEW YORK JUNE 1 -- THE ANGOLANS HAVE BLAMED ZAIRE FOR THE HOSTILITY

BUT HAVE REITERATED ANGOLA'S DESIRE FOR HARMONIOUS

RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. ON JUNE 12 NYERERE TOLD AMBASSADOR SPAIN THAT NETO WAS SO ANGRY WITH THE KATANGANS OVER SHABA II THAT HE HAD PLACED THE KATANGAN LEADERS UNDER HOUSE ARREST, HAD DISARMED THE INVASION FORCE, AND WAS MOVING IT BACK FROM THE BORDER. (WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF THIS, AND PREVIOUS REPORTS CONCERNING NETO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KATANGANS HAVE BEEN INCONCLUSIVE.)

6. WITH THIS BACKGROUND, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR MC HENRY TO DISCUSS WITH NETO THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE ZAIRE-ANGOLAN REGION,  
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AND WHAT STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE CESSATION OF AID TO UNITA, PARTICULARLY SINCE WE ARE NOT INVOLVED. AGAIN, WE WOULD WANT TO POINT OUT THAT PROGRESS TOWARD A REDUCTION OF BORDER TENSIONS WOULD BE A POSITIVE ELEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR OVERALL RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA.

7. CUBANS

SINCE THIS IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT THE ANGOLANS SAY NETO WANTS TO DISCUSS, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO REPEAT TO HIM OUR POSITION THAT CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA ARE A NEGATIVE FACTOR WORKING AGAINST PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION. WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, LAY PRIMARY STRESS ON THE CUBAN ISSUE. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A REDUCTION OF CUBAN FORCES, WE SHOULD WORK TOWARD THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE OF AN INTERNAL RAPPROCHEMENT AND SECURE BORDERS FOR ANGOLA, AND THUS A REDUCED PERCEPTION ON NETO'S PART OF THE NEED FOR FOREIGN TROOPS.

8. TALKING POINTS

WE PROPOSE THAT MC HENRY USE THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS WITH NETO:

-- AS THE SECRETARY TOLD ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE IN NEW YORK IN APRIL, WE HOPE THAT U.S.-ANGOLAN RELATIONS CAN IMPROVE.

-- AN ASPECT OF SUCH IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WOULD BE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING REGIONAL ISSUES IN  
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WHICH WE HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST. ONE OF THESE

REGIONAL ISSUES IS OF COURSE NAMIBIA. IT IS CLEARLY IN ANGOLA'S INTEREST TO BRING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S DEPARTURE FROM NAMIBIA. ANOTHER IS THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND STABILITY ALONG THE ZAIRE-ANGOLA BORDER.

-- THE ANGOLANS HAVE STATED ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE IN THE REGION AND ALONG THEIR BORDERS IN ORDER THAT ANGOLA MIGHT CONCENTRATE ON MEETING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY THOUGHTS NETO MAY HAVE ON HOW BORDER TENSIONS WITH ZAIRE MIGHT BE REDUCED.

-- (IF NETO COMPLAINS THAT ZAIRIAN AID TO UNITA AND FNLA MAKES A REDUCTION OF TENSIONS IMPOSSIBLE ) WE DO NOT FAVOR INTERFERENCE ACROSS THE BORDER IN EITHER DIRECTION. WE DO FAVOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE THAT EACH WILL RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE OTHER'S UNREST. WE SUPPORTED PREVIOUS AFRICAN EFFORTS TO FACILITATE SUCH AN AGREEMENT, AND HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE RESUMED, WITH WHATEVER AFRICAN HELP PROMISES TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE.

-- A REDUCTION OF THE CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ANGOLA WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. WE ARE, OF COURSE, AWARE OF NETO'S VIEW THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECURE BORDERS WITH NAMIBIA AND ZAIRE WOULD REDUCE THE NEED FOR CUBAN TROOPS.

-- ALTHOUGH NO OUTSIDE POWER CAN IMPOSE SOLUTIONS TO ANGOLA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND WE DO NOT WISH TO INTERFERE IN ANGOLA'S AFFAIRS, IT IS OUR PERCEPTION THAT NEITHER SIDE CAN WIN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL CONFLICT,

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AND THAT UNLESS THERE IS SOME SORT OF POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION THE WAR WILL DRAG ON INDEFINITELY, RENDERING THE ATTAINMENT OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION EVEN MORE DIFFICULT.

-- WE CONSIDER THIS MEETING THE BEGINNING OF A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE ON U.S.-ANGOLAN RELATIONS AND WE LOOK FORWARD

TO CONTINUING THIS DIALOGUE. END DRAFT TALKING POINTS.

APPROVE----- DISAPPROVE-----

CHRISTOPHER

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